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New Republic

THE VATICAN DECREE AND CATHOLIC LIBERALS

By PERCY WINNER

- ## PAUL DOUGLAS: SENATOR WITH IDEAS

By RICHARD L. STROUT

- ## WHERE IS THE COUNTRY GOING?

By ROBERT S. LYND

- ## STARTING A NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY

AN EDITORIAL

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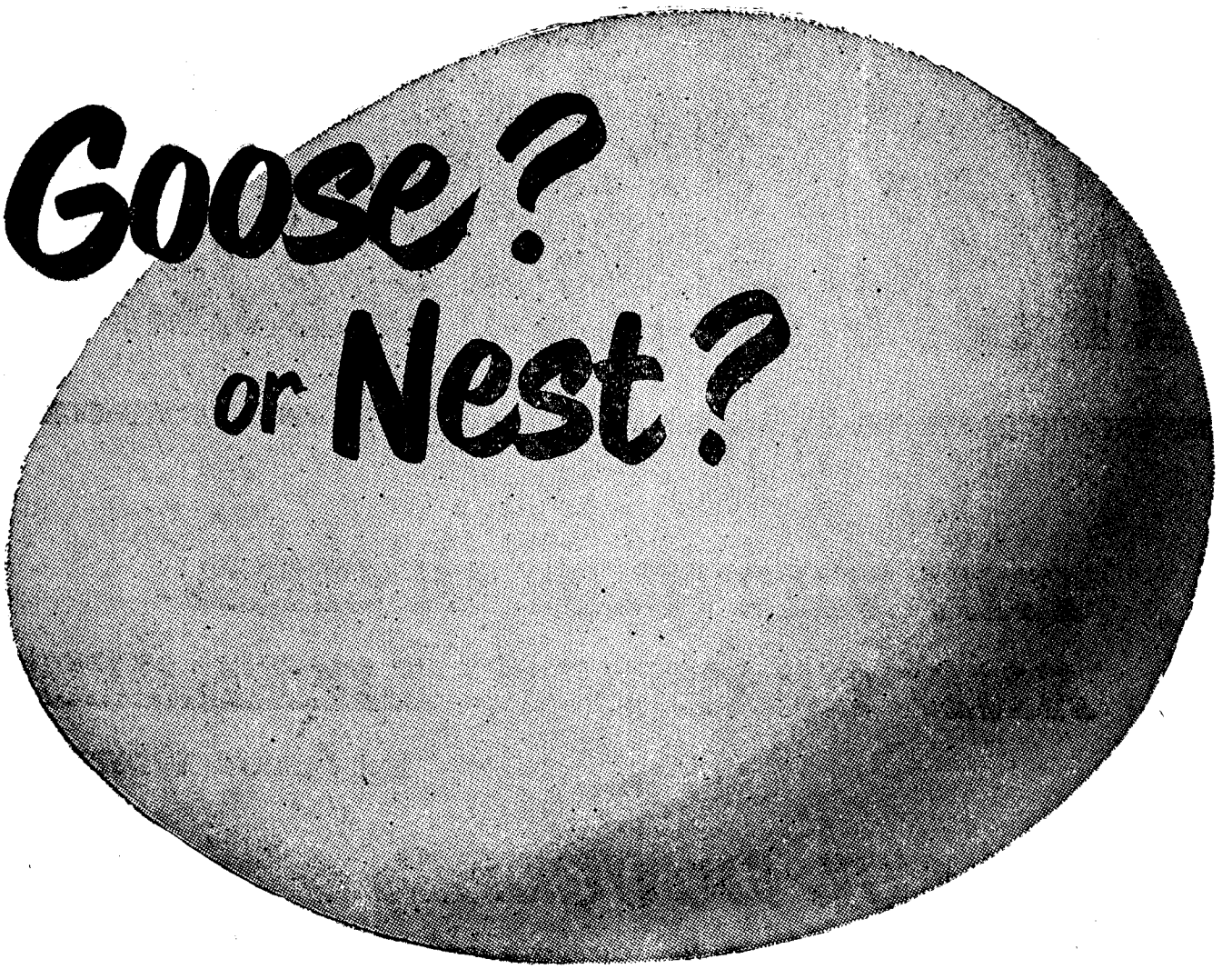

WHICH WILL YOU HAVE ?

For some reason, the goose egg stands for zero . . . nothing.

The nest egg, however, stands for a tidy sum of money, set aside for your own or your children's future.

It's hardly necessary to ask you which you'd prefer.

But it *is* necessary to ask *yourself* what you are doing to make sure you *don't* end up with a goose egg instead of a nest egg ten years from now.

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Automatic saving is sure saving— U.S. Savings Bonds

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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

IT'S AN INCREDIBLE experience to sit in the Senate and listen to men like Kem (R, Mo.), Donnell (R, Mo.), Wherry (R, Neb.), Martin (R, Pa.) and Watkins (R, Ut.) bait the British. It's an old record they play, but it never seems to wear out. Most of the charges made by these men have little relation to fact. If they were told that they are playing hob with America's destiny, too, they wouldn't understand.

Why are they so strongly anti-British that they take valuable time on the Senate floor to hurl insults and to betray their ignorance? It is not because Britain has a Labour government. That is only a small part of the story. Much that they have said would have been in exactly the same words if Britain had a Tory government.

Narrow provincialism, an unwillingness to accept the fact that isolationism is dead, a great desire to hit the Truman Administration regardless of the consequences—add to all this a complete irresponsibility and a big dash of plain ignorance and you have the answer. It may be shocking that men in high office would make such speeches on the Senate floor and see their names in the headlines without a twinge of conscience. But to try to convince a Wherry or a Kem that he isn't the last word in statesmanship is an impossible task. These men have come a long way, most probably because they have never entertained the smallest doubt as to their own infallibility.

After the five Republicans had blasted away at the British and at the Truman Administration for more than an hour, Senator Lucas (D, Ill.), the Majority Leader, attempted to reply singlehanded. He upbraided them for not recognizing that the United States has a big stake in Britain's survival.

But Lucas was not prepared for a full-dress debate. He was not prepared to try to explain to the Senate and to the American people what the crisis is all about, what the meaning of the crisis is, how it might affect American business, American foreign relations and even American military power. It would be expecting too much to believe that the Majority Leader should be intimately informed on every subject.

The American people, however, have not yet been given a full and detailed account by a responsible official of the problem to be debated here next week. Fortunately, it may be reported, men like Secretary of State Acheson are fully alive to the implications of the problem and are determined that something shall be worked out so that Anglo-American relations may be strengthened and so that the British economy may weather the long storm still ahead.

J. Howard McGrath now has the opportunity, which he has missed to date, to perform a great public service. As Attorney General, he can end much of the silliness that has characterized the Justice Department's role in examining visitors and prospective visitors to the United States. Also, he can sit upon those in his department who would make a joke of civil liberties McGrath's friends are confident that he will lose no time in making these necessary changes.

It is worth remembering, however, that it was McGrath who recently placed in the *Congressional Record*, with laudatory comment, a speech by Father Hunter Guthrie, the new president of Georgetown University, which sounded like a call for a state-established "opinion-control bureau." Asserting that such a bureau may be necessary, Father Guthrie said that "the state's thinking in this matter [of opinion control] is much sounder than

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that of the resentful individual whose opinion is controlled."

Let it be hoped that McGrath doesn't believe that.

A violent fight over adjournment is being waged in the Senate. The issues are simple. Republicans and Southern Democrats want to go home before there is opportunity to adopt more Fair Deal legislation. Administration leaders insist that there has been a calculated filibuster against the program since the beginning of the session. They want to keep Congress here until a half dozen more important bills are approved.

Those supporting early adjournment, however, are gaining strength. A motion made unexpectedly the other day by Senator Capehart (R, Ind.), that Congress adjourn *sine die* on September 30 regardless of the status of pending legislation, was defeated by the fairly close majority of 48 to 34. A shift of eight votes, or sufficient recruits from the 14 absentees, could force adjournment against the will of the Majority Leader.

Notes. President Truman is more at ease and more relaxed at his press conferences than ever. He seems well and nearly always in good spirits. . . . Senator Lucas, who has received his share of brickbats, deserves praise for fighting against a too-early adjournment, all the more so because he faces a tough reëlection fight next year and would like to go home to do some fence-mending. . . . The Chinese Nationalist "government," to which some Congressmen would like to send millions of dollars, has no effective tax power, no command powers over the army and no Treasury. Chiang Kai-shek, who has "retired," still holds the power of the purse and the power of command. . . . The aid-to-education bill is going to take a lot of care before it will be revived. . . . A recent secret poll showed that half the people in New York City had never heard of General Vaughan. Some of those who had heard of him thought he was the President's physician!

Washington T. R. B.

CORRESPONDENCE

Not the Sole Issue

SIR: Max Biser in your August 15 Correspondence column opposed a fourth-round steel wage increase because he opposed the first round. It is common practice to assume that the wage demands came first in this spiral. A moment's checking will reveal that the steel boost in price of roughly $10 a ton came four months ahead of even a demand for a wage raise. The price boost was bitterly protested by the United Steelworkers.

Biser also says he believes strikes for lower prices are better than those for higher wages. The greatest of all postwar strikes, the General Motors strike, November, 1945, to February, 1946, was primarily on this issue. The Auto Workers said, in effect, "Show us that you are keeping your profits in line, and we will give in on our demands." The rollback has been a major issue in almost every major strike. To hope that it can be the sole issue seems to be asking too much.

San Francisco, Calif. C. MILLER

Our Own Dehumanization

SIR: George Orwell in *1984* is sketching the possible and even probable outcome of what we are now, of what we do now. The point is not the power of the state. The point is our own dehumanization. Today we have Crimethink, Doublethink and Newspeak. These principles are basic in the daily activities of our Department of State. Every issue of the *NR* (I've read 'em all) makes that clear. These principles are what ail our newspapers, movies, radio, education and propaganda systems. . . . When the circle is full, when rationality and honesty are impossible, the state will inherit anarchy, not power.

McDougall (professor of psychology at Harvard) put it into six words years ago: "Intelligence is relative to food supply," *i. e.*, prosperity destroys character. *"Homo homini lupus,"* in 1949, becomes *"homo homini diabolus."* So what?

Nahcott, Wash. W. L. WHITTLESEY

The Quality of Leadership

SIR: Alfred Baker Lewis, who, in your July 4 issue, dismissed my appraisal of Wallace's importance in veering the Truman Administration in the direction of liberalism as a "false assumption," in your August 22 issue applauds the appointment of Tom Clark to the Supreme Court on the basis of Clark's moral strength in preparing a strong brief on behalf of Negroes and other racial minorities offensive to his Texas associates. And he concludes that we should be grateful that "President Truman and a lot of other ordinary fellows who voted for him are unmistakably on the liberal side of important issues even though they lack glamour."

Apparently Lewis is satisfied that the greatest power in the world at the most crucial moment in its history shall be on the liberal side whether or not its administrators possess the qualifications for implementing and consolidating their liberalism. At any rate, there are no false assumptions to be derived from his position, and it will be interesting to note what kind of commentary history will write on what seems an adequate expression of the contemporary Democratic Party philosophy.

Kent, Wash. LINDEN DALBERG

Forget It Ever Happened

SIR: The time will soon come for a unified German republic. This new republic should possess a constitution and a Bill of Rights, which would guarantee to every person the same basic rights and liberties that we ourselves enjoy.

All decisions on Germany made during the past five years should be brought within the power of review. Only in this way can there be hope for bringing order out of the chaotic structure of decisions of recent years—decisions made by dozens of intergovernmental agencies varying in powers with no authority capable of coördination or revision.

A peace treaty should be signed at the earliest possible date and no change in the 1937 area of Germany's boundaries should be made. Taking away territory from Germany is not the way to a . . . lasting peace but the opposite. It is a repudiation of Christian charity and a defiance of Christian morality. If we sincerely want peace we must go back to the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms which include no territorial aggrandizement, no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned.

Dismantlement and shipment of all German plants and equipment should be stopped immediately. All foreign powers should make restitution of assets forcibly or fraudulently acquired in German businesses and industries since 1945. All German political prisoners should be freed; war-crimes prisoners should be retried under neutral auspices.

Once given a fair and honest deal the Germans will embrace democracy and abstain from war and Communism.

KENNETH HYDE FOSTER

Buffalo, N. Y.

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STARTING A NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY

THE TRUMAN DEMOCRATS have taken their first real step toward becoming a party. The expulsion of the Dixiecrats from the Democratic National Committee was a prerequisite to all the overhauling needed to save the party of Jefferson, Jackson, Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt. Pursued steadily, the new course announced by President Truman in connection with the purging can improve affairs in the next session of Congress and lead to the creation of a responsible national party for liberals.

"The Democratic Party is not a sectional party any more. The tail no longer wags the dog," the President has firmly announced to his party leaders. This declaration of independence from the Dixiecrats was a bolder step, in party terms, than any ever taken by Franklin Roosevelt. The implications of Truman's stand are more far-reaching than was Roosevelt's offhand attempt to purge certain Southern Senators in the election of 1938. If Truman fails to elect a much larger liberal majority in 1950, he faces the possibility that Republicans and vengeful Dixiecrat Southerners might actually combine to organize Congress against the Democrats.

Truman won without the South in 1948. Roosevelt could have won without the South in all but the last of his four elections. But the casting off of what has so long been considered the heartland of the Democratic Party could never be a casual decision to any Democratic President. The deliberation and hesitation with which Truman has approached the Dixiecrat problem make the course he has decided upon especially significant for the future.

The way seemed open, after the election, for heavy recriminations against those Southerners who had deserted to the Thurmond-Wright ticket. Truman turned his back when Strom Thurmond rode past in the Inaugural parade. Loyal Truman-Barkley club leaders from Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and South Carolina, the "seceding" states of '48, were given the VIP treatment at the festivities. A new closure rule to make possible passage of civil-rights bills was advanced to the head of the new Senate's calendar. Dixiecrats elected to the House were called on the carpet, even before Congress organized itself, for a warning from the leadership that any further bolting would cost them patronage.

Stern justice might have been the policy but for J. Howard McGrath. Thinking of the easiest way in the Senate and driven by his own unlimited political ambition, soft-hearted Senator McGrath stood squarely in the way of what Chairman McGrath needed to do. For nine months, no Democratic National Committee meeting was called to expel the Dixiecrat renegades. Southerners who filibustered against the Senate rules change in the opening weeks found McGrath's smile still warm upon them and his patronage bag still open to them—even after their wrecking job was done. The Southerners, getting the pitch, relaxed and resumed their old liaison with the Republicans. House and Senate leaders took their cues from the party chairman. The battle to secure at least an even split of the Southerners with the Republicans was never really waged while McGrath was party chief.

The Democratic majority looked large on November 3—263 Democrats to 171 Republicans in the House, 54 Democrats to 42 Republicans in the Senate. In fact, however, Administration leaders have had three parties to reckon with—171 Republicans, 118 Southerners and 145 non-Southern Democrats in the House; 42 Republicans, 26 Southern Democrats and 28 non-Southern Democratic Senators. Against a solid line-up of Republicans, the Administration needed a large share of the Southern votes on every issue to win. But the 11-15 split in favor of the Taft labor bill is the closest the Truman Administration has come to breaking the Southern bloc in the Senate during this session.

The Southerners' record for party regularity in the House has been equally disastrous to the Fair Deal. During the first three months of the new Congress, on 27 party-line votes analyzed by the *Congressional Quarterly*, the Democrats won 19 and lost eight—all eight of which would have been reversed if the Democrats had stuck together. The 263 seats nominally held by Democrats in the House give them on paper 45 more than the 218 votes required for a majority. On six of the eight key issues where Southern defections brought

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Democratic defeat, 45 Southerners deserted the party.

The lack of a tactic against the Southern marauders has cost the Fair Deal dearly. For lack of a line on what was finally to be done about the Dixie boys, efforts to pass the civil-rights program and to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act were less than full-strength.

The policy indicated by the new Democratic National Chairman, William J. Boyle, could change that. It was Boyle who, under the urging of labor and liberal groups, cleared the way for the credentials committee rejection of the six Dixiecrat committee members. The new chairman is inclined to take the President's attitudes as his guide on policy, and there is no question about Truman's personal inclination to give the Dixiecrats no quarter. But for the pleas of McGrath and Speaker Rayburn, Truman would have carried the battle right into the South itself last fall.

President Truman has announced that the Solid South is welcome "to join the party of the people and help the country go forward." But only on the basis of party unity. He also pledges the party to campaign for "liberal" Congressmen in 1950 to add to the number of young men elected in 1948 "to carry out the people's platform." This pledge will have meaning only if it is made to apply to the Southern primaries as surely as to the general election in other states.

The most reprehensible of the Southern Senators are not within reach of the voters this year. The important task in the South will be to return Claude Pepper (Fla.) and Lister Hill (Ala.), who are proved liberals, and moderates like J. William Fulbright (Ark.) and Russell Long (La.). (Surprisingly enough, Long, in spite of his antecedents, is steering a sensible course; he has amazed everyone with his apparent ability to learn from his elders and betters.) It is also necessary, of course, to increase the number of members of the House who look toward the future instead of the past. (As proof that progress is possible: more than one out of three Southerners in the 81st Congress voted with labor against the Wood bill; only one out of 10 Southerners had voted with labor against Taft-Hartley just two years before.)

The early primaries, equivalent to elections in the South, will be in full swing six months from now. Final dates for meeting the complicated requirements of poll taxes and registration in many places will have passed long before that. Sincere national party support of liberal Democrats in the primaries could yield a net gain of as many as 30 Southern Congressmen friendly to most of the Fair Deal.

Rehabilitation of the South into a region capable of full partnership in a national Democratic Party will require time. To create the necessary economic conditions, a way must be found to enact the Brannan program for raising the standard of living on the farms; the Economic Expansion bill to speed industrialization, and an extended public-power program to supply the resources for doing so.

Until these economic cornerstones are laid, and the political barriers of the poll tax and other obstacles to free voting are cleared away, the South cannot be expected to go a great deal farther in self-improvement. In the short range, the Democratic Party must concentrate on increasing its majority in Northern and Western states to the point where Democrats from those areas by themselves can outvote the Republicans. This is the only way to pass the legislation that will create the economic conditions necessary for further political advancement in the South.

The position President Truman has adopted with regard to the reactionaries within the Democratic Party is sound and constructive. It will encourage those Southerners who followed Franklin Roosevelt to assert themselves in the state organizations. It will encourage the development of a two-party system in the South. If pursued logically, it will mean further reform of Congressional procedure, along the lines of the provision made this year for circumventing the Dixiecrat roadblock in the House Rules Committee. It would lead to binding caucuses in both Houses whereby the vote of the majority of Democrats on major issues of party policy would commit all Democrats to vote with the Administration—or remove themselves from the ranks of the party.

It would point to the need for biennial in place of quadrennial national party conventions. If the aim of the party is to be unity between the party platform and the views of its representatives in Congress, new party platforms should be drafted for each new election. President Truman might do well to summon a special Democratic national convention next year to emphasize the crucial importance of the 1950 Congressional campaign and to construct the platform on which the party itself wants the campaign to be conducted.

"The function of the President in our system is to discover and somehow or other to promote the public welfare amid the mosaic of conflicting interests represented in Congress." So far as the first session of the 81st Congress is concerned, President Truman has largely failed to find a way. Now, wisely, he appears to have concluded that the task calls for a strong new instrument—a unified national party—and he has started out to create one. If he has the courage and the imagination to do it, he will have succeeded where Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt failed.

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THE WEEK

THE TALKS BEGIN

The Anglo-American-Canadian talks have begun; if they follow their expected course the Americans will wait for the British to explain why the new crisis has occurred.

The British will take up the recent drastic decline in American purchases of raw materials imported from the sterling area. They will attribute the decline to our recession, and this assertion the Americans will dispute. Both sides will be partly right.

Wool and textile imports from the sterling area have been hard hit as the result of our recession. It struck first in textiles and it struck hardest at expensive imported goods. The wholesale prices of American wool and textiles have fallen sharply in the last year while the price of imported British textiles has risen by 10 percent.

Rubber, tin and cocoa are a different story. Their prices move with US imports and both have fallen in 1949, but for different reasons. The rubber plantations of the sterling area are suffering from competition with America's new synthetic-rubber factories. Tin, although its price is supported by centralized American purchases through the Federal Bureau of Supply, is falling off from the insupportable wartime peak. Cocoa has dropped from its peak of 45 cents a pound last summer to 17 cents today. Its prewar price was five cents. The price skyrocketed after a blight cut production by two-thirds. The trees are healthy again and greater production is forcing the price down.

As further evidence that the American recession is not the cause of the British crisis, Americans will quote the example of British cars. Their market has collapsed in America although the sale of American cars is at an all-time peak. British cars were sold because they were available at a time of shortages. Now American cars are available, and British cars can be sold only at much lower prices.

The discussion will pass from the causes of the crisis to its answer. Again the Americans will wait silently while the British talk. They will propose cutting the British budget, increasing productivity, revising ECA procedures and some emergency devices to save dwindling sterling reserves. "Is that all?" the Americans will ask, and there will be an uncomfortable silence. The unspoken issue will be devaluation of sterling; the Americans are unwilling to take the responsibility for pressing it; the British are unwilling to consider it except as part of a larger solution.

Revaluation, Cripps will argue (if the subject is discussed), cannot begin to close the dollar gap. If the pound is reduced to $3 as Americans think it should be, sterling exports to America will have to increase by 25 percent in volume to maintain—let alone increase—dollar earnings. In fact, Cripps will say, devaluation will not increase our purchases of key raw-material imports, even though Britain's own manufacturers may gain in sales here. On the other hand, Cripps will add, American raw materials and finished goods will become more expensive in Britain, increasing the price of British exports, and forcing up retail prices and wages.

The Americans will answer that British prices will rise by no more than 10 percent, and that increased prices of American goods should and will force British importers to buy elsewhere. British exporters, who will earn one-quarter more in sterling receipts for goods sold in America, will cut their prices here or spend more in sales promotion. And since British exports to the United States today are no more than the sales of Sears Roebuck, for example, the market, at least for British goods, can be greatly expanded. Some exports, such as Scotch whisky, cannot increase because there is no more Scotch to sell. But others such as textiles will find new markets.

Since the problem is the relation of sterling to the dollar, the devaluation of sterling can work only if other soft currencies are devaluated as well, and so maintain their present relationship with the pound. France, Argentina and other countries know this and are anxious to devaluate. Only the undervalued lira will be held at present levels. Britain, for political reasons, would like a simultaneous realignment of all currencies with the dollar, to take place during the meetings of the International Monetary Fund in September. The Americans hope this can be done, but they insist that devaluation must be accomplished in secret and not in a worldwide conference.

If devaluation is discussed as part of a larger plan, the British will propose that we abolish our present tariffs. The Americans will answer that because of tariff reductions, British exporters are now paying as duty only 14 percent of the value of the goods they send to the US, compared with 38 percent before the war. We will offer to set up a customs office in London to lessen the delays and difficulties caused by customs regulations. We may offer to expand our stock-piling program, to lessen the production of synthetic rubber, which today is kept high at government insistence, and to help conserve Britain's dollar reserves by using Marshall Plan dollars to purchase Canadian wheat.

However, these proposals are expedients and the need, as the *NR* pointed out last week, is for the permanent solution that economic union alone provides. As the talks began, William Lowe, economic editor of the European edition of the New York *Herald Tribune*, cabled that union might well be proposed by the British government. "The idea," he added, "has the strongest kind of practical reasoning behind it. What was once a utopian dream has become a matter of hard business sense."

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WARNING BY THE TRIPLE A-S

Many people undoubtedly think that the protests about the government security program as applied to scientific work are inspired by Communists who, more than likely, want secrecy broken down so that they can transmit vital information to Russia. To such persons we commend a document just made public by the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

The "Triple A-S" is by far the largest and the most important group of scientists in America, if not in the world. Its complete loyalty to American ideals has never been under the slightest question. Two years ago, it appointed a special committee to investigate civil liberties among scientists; its governing body, the AAAS Council, has just published the conclusions of that committee.

This group found that while some of the work done in the military field, including atomic bombs, must necessarily be secret, the area of secrecy is far larger than can possibly be justified. Severe criticism is directed at the policy of giving rigid checks even to scientists not engaged on secret operations, if they have contact with other men who are so engaged. The operations of the various loyalty boards are attacked; for example, in many cases, a man under suspicion is not allowed to discuss his case with anyone, or keep notes of what happens at his hearing, or have access to a written record. The AAAS Committee says that the (President's) Loyalty Order "is basically objectionable because it seeks to determine the employee's loyalty by inquiring into his supposed thoughts and attitude, which are established in large part by imputing to him the beliefs of his associates." A further weakness is that "the present loyalty boards discharge simultaneously the functions of advocacy and adjudication," acting as both prosecutor and judge.

The result of these things is

> to discourage participation in important research activities closely linked to the nation's well-being. Scientists are increasingly reluctant to commit their personal and professional reputations to those who have brought frivolous charges against respected colleagues.

Because of this situation, our national security is actually in danger:

> Secrecy is damaging to both science and democracy. In both, progress and the detection of error depend upon open discussion and free interchange of ideas.

The report concludes with an admirable statement by President Truman:

> Continuous research by our best scientists is the key to American leadership and true national security. This work may be made impossible by the creation of an atmosphere in which no man feels safe against the public airing of unfounded rumors, gossip and vilification.

THE LIST IS STILL THERE

Many months ago, the Attorney General of the US made public a list of organizations which the government deems to be subversive; and this list has been supplemented with additions from time to time. In several ways, it is an extremely serious matter; for example, membership in one or more of the organizations named is held to carry a strong presumption of disloyalty requiring dismissal of an employee of the federal government. States and cities use the Attorney General's list to the same end.

The Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, which is on the list, brought suit against the government in a federal district court, charging that the list is unconstitutional, that because of being included the Committee has lost its reputation, tax-exempt status, and membership and revenue, and that its members have been disgraced and have suffered economic injury.

The American Civil Liberties Union, which is well known to be strongly opposed to Communism and to all types of totalitarianism, entered the case with a brief of its own. It said that the blacklist infringes freedom of speech, press and assembly; that it involves "guilt by association," and that putting organizations on it without giving them any hearing violates due process of law.

The district court ruled against the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, and the case was taken to the US Court of Appeals. This court has just handed down a decision which is also adverse to the Committee, by a vote of two to one. The majority opinion said:

> Freedom of speech and assembly is denied no one. Freedom of thought and belief is not impaired. Anyone is free to join the Committee and give it support and encouragement. . . .

The minority opinion of Judge Henry J. Edgerton points out, on the contrary, that because of being listed the organization has lost membership, financial support and reputation. He agrees that it is "unfair and unnecessary" to blacklist an organization without a hearing, and that freedom of speech and assembly is injured when government employees know that "sympathetic association" with the Committee will cost them their jobs.

The case has been remanded to the lower court for a new trial. There is hope, however, that through a technicality it can be taken at once to the US Supreme Court for a final decision. If that court lives up to its own recent precedents, it will find that the Attorney General's blacklist does violate historic American principles.

POWER LOBBY THWARTED

The "bus-bar boys"—the private-utility lobbyists who want to purchase public power at low wholesale rates and sell it to the public for high profits—have been bounced by the Senate. After a debate which stretched over almost two weeks, the Senate approved the cuts in the Administration's public-power and reclamation program in full. The power lobby, which had operated so successfully behind the closed doors of the Senate Appropriations Committee, found that open debate on the Senate floor brought public pressure they could not withstand.

The Committee had cut $14 million, amounting to repeal of the government's public-power program, from the House-approved Interior Department appropriation. Public-power proponents on the Administration side, along with Senators from areas with

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big projects, formed a majority bloc to restore every major cut.

The first setback to the private-power interests was on transmission lines in the Southwest. The House had approved a $9 million appropriation giving the Southwestern Power Administration control of transmission of the power from government dams to the consumers of Oklahoma, Texas and Arkansas. Urged by Hamilton Moses (Arkansas Power and Light Co.) and D. C. McKee (Empire District Electric Co. of Missouri), the Senate committee cut the appropriation $5,125,980. With Senator Lyndon Johnson (D, Tex.) leading the fight against the cut, the Senate voted to 45 to 38 to restore it.

After arguments by John Corette Jr. (Montana Power Co.) and Kinsey M. Robinson (Washington Water Power Co.) the Committee slashed appropriations for two Montana projects—the Havre-Shelby substation and transmission line and the Kerr-Anaconda transmission line, the backbone of the giant Bonneville power system. On the floor, Senator James Murray (D, Mont.) cited the Montana Power Company's pressure as a prime example of organized propaganda "to secure control of all public power developed in the nation." The Senate voted 45 to 35 to restore the cut.

By a similar margin of votes, the Senate saved the transmission-line appropriations for the Central Valley Project of California, voted money to plan a steam plant in that area, restored appropriations for transmission lines in Idaho and Colorado.

Senator Estes Kefauver (D, Tenn.) pointed out the real facts in the matter: private-power interests which

> are not satisfied with the right to purchase public power at low wholesale rates or with anything short of complete monopoly control. With their lavish profits they have established at great cost a power-lobby organization to discredit the public-power program set up by the Congress, and to require that all publicly developed power be sold to the private utilities at the bus bars. . . . They recently reorganized and revitalized their national power lobby organization and have placed at its head Purcell Smith, a well-known expert on political connivance, with a salary of $65,000 a year and a full treasury, to support its devious efforts to destroy our well-established national power policy.

When the Senate had completed action, the private-power boys, who had stalked the Capitol for the past six weeks, crept away.

NO MAN IS AN ILANDE BUT—

Last week the Atlantic Pact came into force, binding 12 nations to the basic principle that an armed attack on one will be regarded as an attack on all. President Truman called it a momentous occasion. Ambassador Bonnet of France declared that "by implementing its principle of self-help and mutual aid, the signatory nations will strengthen themselves to the point of making invasion and war impossible in the Atlantic Area."

Implementation, certainly, is the key word that should dispel any illusions of present mutuality or security. At a rough guess, six of the 12 nations would carry out their commitments by declaring war if one were invaded tomorrow. Of these, four, at most, have the means to back up the declaration with any show of force.

Military reality or not, "the Pact is now a moral reality," proclaims the New York *Times*. Well—maybe. Lest we become complacent, this is as good a time as any to recall a conversation between the editor of the *NR* and a leading Italian Socialist and novelist in Rome last month.

It was on the day that the Atlantic Pact was ratified by the Italian parliament. "This ratification," said the Italian, "means nothing at all. Italians are disgusted with fighting. They might be persuaded to take up arms again if Italy's borders were crossed by an invader. But the idea that they

"Just because we stick a knife in 'em they get sore"

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will rush to arms if Norway's borders are crossed is completely absurd!"

"You seem to forget that collective security was a Socialist and an internationalist doctrine," our editor protested.

"That was another world," replied the Italian author.

"A better world," our editor murmured, "and one you belonged to. I remember a character named Spina in *Bread and Wine* who maintained that all men were brothers."

"My friend," said the author, "you talk in abstractions. If we Socialists should take this commitment seriously we would soon cease to be a serious force."

OFFICE OF RENT DECONTROL

The attempt of Housing Expediter Tighe Woods to use a cut in appropriations for his agency as another excuse for decontrolling rents has failed temporarily. But one defeat will not deter Woods from lifting the remaining rent controls at a reckless rate.

For the past year, Woods has been leading up to complete decontrol by weakening the existing regulation and filling the vacancies among his regional directors with those who follow his half-hearted attitude on rent control. The day after the "local option" rent bill passed Congress last March, Woods decontrolled 130 areas. Since then he has lifted controls on an additional 84 areas. (Housing experts estimate that about two million houses and apartments fall into this group.) Recent spot reports show that rents in decontrolled areas have jumped from 50 to 400 percent. In two military areas in New Mexico rents went up 51 percent when controls were lifted. After the city council at Dallas, Texas, abolished controls, a check of 450 cases showed an average increase of 100 percent. A newspaper survey in Knoxville, Tennessee, revealed that after decontrol low-rent houses and apartments were hardest hit.

When the appropriations to enforce rent control came up last week, Woods used "lack of funds" as an excuse to announce that one-third of the country would be decontrolled by October 1 unless the appropriation were increased. President Truman had originally asked for $26 million to enforce rent control for the 12 months which began last July 1. The Senate voted to reduce that to $21 million and the House later made the figure $17.5 million. When the bill came back to the Senate floor, Senator Paul Douglas (D, Ill.) tried to authorize Woods to spend the $17.5 million in nine months instead of twelve. After assurances from both Democratic and Republican Senators that Woods would be welcome to ask for more money next January, Douglas withdrew his motion, but warned: "If . . . I find I have been seduced in this matter, I will attempt to tear my seducers from stem to stern." He will probably have that opportunity.

BIG TALK, SMALL ACTION

Washington's top economic brass is busy jumping to conclusions about the business outlook. Recent statements by Secretaries Sawyer, Tobin and Snyder, and Federal Reserve Board Chairman Charles McCabe appear to reflect the belief that official optimism is the strongest weapon the Administration can use against recession now. The latest figures, those for July showing a postwar high of 4,095,000 out of work, are kept in bottom drawers while the latest reports on "new unemployment" are being featured as indicating a slackening "in the rate of industrial layoffs." "New unemployment" amounted to 259,207 for the week ending August 20.

Independent economists do not believe that the economic indicators have gone up enough to warrant the optimism the government is showing. The *Journal of Commerce* warned its businessmen readers not to be fooled by governmental "doubletalk," and headlines its observations: "Doubts Persist That the Recession Has Passed Its Low."

Labor brain trusters who, last spring, predicted six to eight million unemployed by the end of the year, admit that the economy is holding up better than they had expected. Construction is far higher than anticipated, and capital-goods expenditures have not dropped nearly so far as had been estimated. (A 14 percent drop in the last six months of 1949 was forecast, but capital investment for the third quarter of this year now seems certain not to fall more than five to six percent below last year.)

Nevertheless, this is scarcely a basis for long-term optimism. The experts warn that the auto industry, still the main prop in the durable-consumer-goods field, cannot be depended upon to support the whole structure indefinitely. They want to see a decided upturn in investment and in foreign trade before putting aside their predictions of economic trouble ahead.

Consistent with its spreading of optimism on every hand, the government is rejecting any proposal for dealing with present unemployment which might give anyone the idea that we are in a depression. The one small approach to the problem of "spot unemployment" that has been undertaken is strictly stopgap. No new funds are available beyond the regular expenditures of the government. This very tentative approach will be no good at all if there is any substantial change for the worse. Until then, the Administration will just pray that bold talk and little action prove to be enough.

ROUTINE DIPLOMACY

On July 14, when asked why he opposed appropriation of ECA funds to Franco Spain, the President told his press conference that he did so because the United States is not on friendly terms with Spain. On August 22, his new Secretary of the Navy, the prominent Catholic layman Francis P. Matthews of Nebraska, announced that he is sending four United States warships on a "courtesy visit" to El Ferrol, the birthplace of Generalissimo Francisco Franco, the first such visit our Navy has paid to Spain since El Caudillo took power. The State Department says that it has approved this pilgrimage as a "routine" matter.

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THE FUTURE OF CATHOLIC LIBERALISM

by Percy Winner

PARIS

A FRENCH CATHOLIC prelate was one of the principal speakers at the "peace day" demonstration in Paris several months ago. The demonstration was patently Communist in its inspiration, organization and avowed goals; as a matter of fact, it was the climax of the peace offensive that Moscow's men in Western Europe had been conducting since the late autumn of 1948. The French prelate—his name is Abbé Boulier—shared the platform with Communist leaders from many countries; his presence with them was widely advertised in the official Communist press throughout the world. His language was that of the typical Communist fellow-traveler.

There were other Catholic prelates among the speakers at the "peace day" demonstration, but most of them were either from countries behind the Iron Curtain or not in favor with the hierarchies in their own countries. The abbé's offense was more grave than theirs in the eyes of officials of the Roman Catholic Church because he was a Frenchman, appearing among men whom the Church considered its open enemies on a speakers' platform in the city in which he was at the time carrying out his normal ecclesiastical functions.

It was not surprising therefore that Abbé Boulier should have been one of the first ecclesiastical dabblers in political affairs to be punished when a formal instrument for such punishment was provided. This instrument was the decree issued in Rome in mid-July by the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office. Although the decree's primary purpose was to strengthen the Church against the Kremlin in Eastern Europe, it contained the means of disciplining precisely such Western Catholics, especially prelates, as Boulier.

By the terms of the decree Catholics who knowingly and willingly are active Communists are made liable to the extreme penalty of excommunication. Also by the terms of the decree Catholics who coöperate with Communists in such a fashion as to help the advent of a "materialistic" and "atheistic" political regime are subject to serious sanctions ranging from exclusion from the sacraments of the Church to excommunication.

Abbé Boulier was officially censured by the Cardinal Archbishop of Paris, his punishment involving suspensions of his right to perform his religious duties. As usual in such matters, the exact nature of the charges was not made public; nor was his defense.

The censure caused a great deal of comment in Catholic circles not only in France but all over Western Europe. It also played a part in a contest of major political proportions (and perhaps of historic religious importance) which started, after the publication of the Holy Office Decree, among Western European Catholic laymen active in current politics or concerned with broad political ideas. The contest was particularly bitter in France where Catholic liberalism has traditionally been stronger and more independent of Papal authority than in any other nominally Catholic country.

The subject of the controversy has been (and is) the interpretation of the Holy Office Decree. The issue is whether *any* coöperation *whatsoever* with the Communists in the field of politics—liberal as well as fellow-traveling—is now to be considered both un-Catholic and anti-Catholic, hence forbidden by the Church. The precise, official attitude of the Church itself was sufficiently unclear to permit the debate to rage freely. To begin with, the Decree, while approved by Pope Pius XII (as all such statements of policy must be), was *not* promulgated by him *ex cathedra* as a doctrine of "faith and morals." Hence, it did not fall within the category of those involving "infallibility," according to the famous Constitution *Pastor Aeternus*, adopted as official Church dogma in 1870. Moreover, it is a matter of official Church history that the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office which issued the Decree has in the past made "mistakes" or at least revised positions it had taken previously on important issues. For example, it was the Congregation which decreed the Inquisition; and it was also the Congregation which abolished the Society of Jesus (the Jesuit order). Both decrees were later reversed.

Then there have been conflicting interpretations of the Communist Decree by persons in positions of religious authority. On July 15, two days after the Decree was made public, the *Osservatore Romano*, official newspaper of the Vatican, said the Decree was entirely religious and that it was calumny to regard it as a political maneuver. Since the newspaper also stressed that the measure applied not only to Italy but to all countries, this seemed to deny the view of high French prelates that the purpose was at least

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partly political. (See Outside America, the *New Republic,* August 8.)

The next day, while the *Quotidiano,* organ of the Italian Catholic Action, echoed this "non-political" position, the Press Bureau of the Vatican announced that Socialists would be as liable as Communists to excommunication if they coöperated with the Communists for common goals—a plainly "political" position. Ten days later the *Osservatore* published a long interpretation said to have been inspired by the Pope himself.

Those who stressed political aspects seemed to get confirmation on August 14 when Monsignor Urbani, assistant-general of Catholic Action, published an article in which he said that even a Catholic of good faith would lend himself to the danger of corruption if he read the Communist press or listened to Communist propaganda. But two days later the *Osservatore* announced that a Catholic would be permitted to marry a Communist; the regulations applying to "mixed marriages" would hold (thereby indirectly recognizing Communism as a religious faith); the sacrament would be given in the sacristy (outside the church) and the Communist would have to agree not to interfere with the religion of the spouse and children.

On August 19, in Paris, the Cardinal Archbishop announced that the censure which had been imposed on Abbé Boulier had been lifted. It was officially stated that the abbé had furnished "explanations" and made certain "commitments." Since no details were given, the bitter contest among Catholic laymen continued.

In general, the Catholic conservatives and traditionalists here in France pounced upon the settlement of the Boulier case as proof that he had made his journey to Canossa. The incident confirmed them in their interpretation of the Decree: Catholic liberalism was doomed. Catholic liberals, on the other hand, stood firm in disbelief. The Boulier case, they argued, showed that Catholic liberalism was entering a new phase but was not in any sense doomed.

Among non-Gaullists, even of the Right, there is division of opinion about the future. For example, Etienne Gilson, a member of the French Academy and perhaps the most famous Catholic historian in France, has taken a position on the problem of state aid to religious education not very different from that of Cardinal Spellman. (The head of the Archdiocese of New York is considered in most Catholic circles in Western Europe to be the head of an essentially anti-liberal national hierarchy and the leader of the anti-liberal faction in the College of Cardinals.)

Writing in the *Monde* Gilson has complained about the laical French state's educational "neutrality in religious matters." When, he wrote, non-statal (that is, parochial) schools oppose atheistic materialism and Communist educational propaganda, the French laical state lets them "die of inanition and even, when the occasion presents itself, kills them off. This is called 'republican defense' and the least that can be said about it is that as a defensive procedure [against Communism] it is extremely odd."

On the other hand, Henri Pierre, writing in the same newspaper about the controversy stirred up in America by the exchange between Spellman and Mrs. Roosevelt, said:

> Anti-Catholicism [in the United States] no longer rests as in the past on the traditional hatred of Papism felt by the ignorant and bigoted Protestants of certain regions or on the fanatics of the Ku Klux Klan. The attacks now being made on the Catholic hierarchy are coming from Protestant liberals, including many who in the past fought against the unjustified baiting of which Catholics were victims. It is to be feared that Cardinal Spellman, in using particularly violent and unjust language against the universally respected former First Lady, has uselessly reinforced the regrettable anti-Catholic prejudices.

The most remarkable and the most daring interpretation of the Holy Office Decree has come (as might have been expected) from Emmanuel Mounier, France's leading Catholic liberal, who edits the monthly *Esprit.* He writes:

> Nothing is more radically false than to represent a Decree such as that of the Holy Office, in Catholic theology, as an *ukase* demanding a passive obedience, worse still, as a sort of cohabitation of bad faith between internal conviction and imposed profession. A disciplinary measure of the Church can only be an appeal to the conscience of the faithful person. . . . Moreover the decision of Rome . . . calls for an active and creative undertaking. . . . The Church does not attach the power of infallibility to its practical orders. . . . The act of an ecclesiastical ministry is not entirely spiritual, nor is it entirely or principally political. . . . The Decree will be what we make of it in the historic context in which it operates; it is our task to give it a healthy future and to save it from fatal developments.

There may be some ambiguity about this view. There is none about Mounier's statement of the future course of the Catholic liberalism which he represents:

> Communism represents for the moment, in the area of forces, the only serious threat to capitalist disorder; that is the essence of the drama of those who feel that in refusing Communism, unacceptable as it is, they are giving a moratorium to this disorder. . . . The battle has therefore begun, and we join it, against politico-religious phariseeism which wants to enlist the Decree in its political and

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economic interests. . . . We will continue ceaselessly to oppose that political anti-Communism which consolidates social phariseeism and prepares civil and international war. We have said and we shall always say that Communism, along with its aspects which we reject, includes many political, economic, social and human truths; and that our duty as Christians as well as our political duty is to recognize the truth wherever it can be found. . . .

All that the world has of social egoism, all that slow restoration of the old stone-hearted forces, that monstrous coalition of clericalism and of moneyed anti-clericalism, is dancing a victory dance around the Decree. They are not against "materialistic and atheistic" Communism; there is more materialism in their ideas, in their acts, in the heart of their heart than in the little finger of a worker in Belleville [industrial slum of Paris]; many of them do not believe in God, and many worship idolatrously in His name a selfish projection of their interests. . . . This must be said and said loudly, so that all those who want to turn the voice of the Church against the hope of the Poor may know that the faithful followers of the Prince of the Poor will fight them trench by trench. And so that this voice may carry to Montreuil and Levallois, to Naples and to Whitechapel, and so that in houses without air and in lives without light, not a man, not a woman, not a child can say "The Church of Christ is abandoning us."

The leader of French Catholic liberalism has also given his "explanations" and made certain "commitments." The case of Mounier is more important than that of Abbé Boulier. The essence of the Decree of the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office will be shown by what is done—or not done—about Mounier.

PAUL DOUGLAS: SENATOR WITH IDEAS

by Richard L. Strout

THE BREAKDOWN in the world is a breakdown at the level of new ideas. Our need is men of ideas in public life. The 81st Congress may not be famous for new legislation. But it has produced in national government a new and first-rate force in the world of ideas—a mild, mellow, formidable man and a Quaker—Paul H. Douglas of Illinois.

Ex-Marines with Bronze Stars are relatively rare in the Senate. So are former presidents of the American Economic Association. Men who combine these two roles are so unusual as to be virtually fictional. In fact, from certain aspects it may be easier to regard Paul Douglas in that light.

Some years back Milton Mayer, in a *Saturday Evening Post* piece, described mysterious sounds heard by a janitor of the University of Chicago in the dead of night. They were only Professor Douglas soaking his head in cold water at a washstand rigged up outside his office so that he could keep on working. He did it two or three times a night. After all, he was busy. He was an alderman of Chicago, spent his day seeing constituents in the Fifth Ward, in between times taught classes and at night worked on *The Theory of Wages*.

The night of December 4, 1941, the University of Chicago *Daily Maroon* reported that Alderman-Professor Douglas patrolled the Fifth Ward from midnight till 5 a.m. to see that no molestation occurred at the birth of the Chicago *Sun*. According to rumors, the Chicago *Tribune* had warned vendors not to carry the new paper on their stands. Douglas made the circuit of his own bailiwick. With his size and the gleam in his eye, what would have happened if one of the *Tribune's* strong-arm men had tackled him? However, as things turned out, the night was quiet and the infant arrived peacefully.

As we all know, college professors are wizened little fellows with thick glasses, hearts of gold and no appreciable income. Their pawky, pedantic humor is compounded of quotations from Aristotle and Thorstein Veblen which they bandy about at the Faculty Club till the small hour of nine o'clock after their double root beers and scalded milks. The absurdity of this Hollywood stereotype, applied to Professor Paul Douglas, is indicated by the following account:

The most dramatic event in his recent career was his enlistment in the Marines at the age of 50. He could have accepted an appointment in the Navy as a lieutenant commander with a soft shore job. Instead he went for a two-mile swim. The lake was cold and choppy. Douglas was testing his own stamina. He thought that he was in pretty good shape. After the swim all parts of him seemed to be functioning normally, so he enlisted in the Marines. They sent him to Parris Island and popped him into a platoon the average age of which was 19. The fact that his famous eco-

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nomic treatise, *The Theory of Wages*, had won the $5,000 Hart, Schaffner and Marx International Competition interested his buddies mildly, if at all. Nor did the authorship of his other notable text, *Real Wages in the United States*, help him materially in scaling the hurdles of the obstacle course.

It looked like a good show he was putting on in the Marines and doubtless it would end up in that soft job in Washington as everyone expected—but Douglas asked for overseas service. The Marines gratified him. He was assigned to the First Division on New Britain. He was decorated for bravery at Pelelieu and was wounded at Okinawa.

Out of this Douglas got considerable discomfort, a better knowledge of himself, a paralyzed arm, loss of 45 pounds, 14 months' hospital treatment, a Bronze Star for heroism and—the important thing—some inner satisfaction far too complicated to explain here but having to do with his feeling of responsibility as a Christian.

In the suite assigned to him in the Senate Office Building after his election last November, Senator-elect Douglas turned to his secretary, Frank McCulloch, in the quiet emptiness and said, "All I want is to be a damn good Senator." He said it gravely because it was part prayer. He has varied the phrase since. "All I want," he says, "is to be half as good a Senator as old George Norris."

After getting the Senatorial nomination, Douglas ran with Adlai Stevenson, another remarkable Democratic progressive who was seeking the Governorship. Senator Lucas of Illinois, the incumbent Democrat, called it a "dream ticket."

Douglas made quite a campaign. Funds were scarce but he had a jeep sound truck and unflagging energy. When isolationist C. Wayland Brooks haughtily declined an invitation to join debate on the ground that he "would not meet any irresponsible person," Douglas worked out a routine. He planted an empty chair on the stage at each performance and addressed it as "Senator Brooks."

In the campaign, incidentally, Douglas was bitterly assailed by the Wallaceites as a Red-baiter and warmonger, while on the other hand the extreme Right called him a Socialist and a crafty fellow-traveler. When the votes were counted, Truman had taken Illinois by 33,000, Stevenson won handily and Douglas was in by 420,000. It was a revolution on the *Tribune's* doorstep.

Douglas came to the Senate with a firm intention to follow the ancient rule that new members should be seen and not heard. But it became immediately obvious that on subject after subject he knew as much or more than anybody else in that august body. After all, Douglas had written books on wages and hours, had served on Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt's New York Commission on Unemployment, had drafted the Illinois utilities act of 1933 and the state's first old-age pension act and had helped draw up the state's 1937 unemployment-insurance act. He had seen the fight over budget economy occur annually in the Chicago city council.

His first intervention in the Senate was in protest against the GOP-Dixiecrat filibuster on the civil-rights bill, particularly against the Wherry "compromise" closure proposal. From the Douglas viewpoint this was just a surrender and one that fastened a bad rule on the chamber. There was a touch of the professorial in Douglas' brilliant analysis of the Senate "rotten borough" system, whereby the nation's 25 smallest states hold 50 of the 96 seats although their population is only 19 percent of the total. What was novel about his approach was that after this dissertation he agreed that it was a good thing for the rich states to be taxed within reason to support the poor states. But with minority control already established, the filibuster resulted in control by a "minority of a minority." It strengthened that sectionalism, he said, "that has always cursed American political life."

Then came the fight over the Bricker amendment to the housing bill. On paper the amendment was lofty in purpose, prohibiting racial segregation in federal housing. But it meant, if approved, that there would be no housing bill, because the Southern bloc would withdraw its support.

Against the advice of friends Douglas took the floor and quietly explained his opposition to the amendment. He hated segregation but this was not the place to fight the civil-rights issue, and better housing would help Negroes more than any other race. Douglas began mildly and courteously. Many can start a debate on that lofty plane but I know of no other who could emerge at the end of a two-hour hazing still genial, still pugnacious, and still moderate in language.

It looked like a wonderful opportunity to give the new Senator a going over and Senators Wherry and Capehart jumped into the fray with the zest of school bullies. Douglas was unruffled. To one question by Wherry, "What is wrong with adopting the amendment?" he answered: "I will tell the Senator what is wrong with it. It would throw away 25 Southern votes without any commensurate gain in [Republican] support from across the aisle."

Watching Douglas expose the Bricker amendment

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without using an angry word or attributing an unworthy motive was an experience in Senatorial dialectic. There was no doubt at all at the end that something new had been added to the Senate. Liberals at last had a spokesman of intellectual stature equal to Taft on the conservative side. Douglas came to the Senate chamber one day with a large magnifying glass. He proposed a 40-percent cut in the traditional Rivers and Harbors ("pork-barrel") bill, charging that some projects were so small they could not even be found on the atlas. The issue turned on the Josias River in Maine. Douglas comes from a seafaring family settled in Maine 200 years and was brought up on a Maine farm under conditions almost as primitive as Lincoln's frontier days. Senator Brewster (R, Me.), Douglas' fellow-alumnus from Bowdoin, defended the Josias project but agreed in general with his antagonist's desire for economy. The striking thing was that Senators repeatedly pointed out that Illinois itself was included on the list; why then, they asked in what appeared to be genuine amazement, should Douglas object? But isn't it possible for a Senator to represent the national interest as well as the local, responded Douglas, explaining that he was willing to have Illinois take its proportional cut.

The economy drive got nowhere and hurt nobody's feelings save those of octogenarian McKellar, chairman of the Appropriations Committee, who took it as a personal affront.

"The Senator, I believe, is a practising lawyer?" asked McKellar. This was a fair assumption since three-fourths of the Senators are lawyers.

"No, I am not, sir," replied Douglas.

"The Senator is not?" asked McKellar in astonishment.

"No."

"I did not know," said McKellar commiseratingly. "I beg the Senator's pardon."

Douglas responded, "I do not know whether the Senator should beg my pardon or congratulate me," and everybody laughed.

Douglas was born in 1892. To get through Bowdoin he mixed cement and sold gelatine desserts. He played center on the football team. He joined the University of Chicago faculty in 1920 and became a full professor of economics in 1925. He has no interest at all in dress, and has taken to gum chewing in the vain hope of his wife that it will cut down his cigarette intake.

Douglas joined the Society of Friends in 1920 and is still a member. It did not prevent him from entering the Marines but it certainly is one of the important features of his life and helps to explain his moderation and sober geniality. Generally Douglas is mild but sometimes he forgets himself and slams the desk, which he regrets later.

He can express radical views as moderately as anybody in Congress. Liberals lap this up as Douglas voices his cool, Quaker passion for the common man. But now and then he aligns himself on the Taft side, as in his advocacy of a flat, over-all six-percent economy slash in the federal budget.

Many economists believe that such a cut at this period of the recession would be unwise. But nobody can doubt the political sting of the Douglas phrase, "To be a liberal one does not have to be a wastrel."

Reformers will not always like Douglas' tendency to compromise. I am not certain that his own hero, George Norris, would agree with it. It should be recorded that Douglas seems able to work with conservatives and win their confidence even though they shake their heads mournfully over his views.

It is doubtful if Douglas is really much to the Right of Pepper and Humphrey on most subjects, yet he has a mellowness about him that is deceptive. In this he resembles the extremely mild-mannered progressive, Frank Graham, of North Carolina. He also has his sober passion for economy which is a hold-over from days on the Chicago council and which endears him to the surprised Byrds, Georges and Tafts. Just where this particular bent will lead him is anybody's guess. The Senate has a club-like atmosphere and Douglas definitely "belongs."

Back in 1930 Douglas gave up hope for the two old parties and wrote a book advocating a new Labor Party. But FDR came along, the Fair Deal followed the New Deal and Douglas' views changed. Now he thinks the Truman Democrats about as liberal as Americans can expect, but he has helped form the Americans for Democratic Action to promote liberalism in the party.

In any discussion of Douglas the thought of his Presidential availability keeps intruding. His personality is impressive, he comes from a key state and he has an almost unconscious knack of dramatizing himself.

Following an earlier marriage, Senator Douglas in 1931 married Emily Taft, daughter of Lorado Taft, the sculptor. Mrs. Douglas was herself elected Representative-at-large from Illinois to the 79th Congress and served one term.

According to report, Mrs. Douglas saved a few thousand dollars from house money over the years which became the nucleus for her husband's financially modest but spectacularly successful campaign. The new Senator has his own explanation for the victory: "They thought they were voting for Mrs. Douglas."

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HAROLD L. ICKES: Shepherds and Coyotes

THERE HAS BEEN a proud aphorism relating to American public servants to the effect that "A public office is a public trust." But Senator McCarran of Nevada has sadly marred the escutcheon upon which this legend has been emblazoned. So far as he is concerned, it would appear that "A public office is a public bust."

It has taken a long time for the public to become aware of the slick operations of this gentleman who is serving his third term by virtue of 30,595 votes out of a total of 52,411. Considering the damage that he has done to his country, it is to be questioned whether a constituency so small as his is entitled to a vote in the United States Senate that cancels the vote, for instance, of a Senator from the State of New York, where the total vote may run well beyond five million. And yet there have been distinguished Senators from states relatively small in population, men such as the late Bronson Cutting of New Mexico, Thomas J. Walsh of Montana and William E. Borah of Idaho, not to mention such present Senators as Tobey of New Hampshire and Hayden of Arizona.

If only to assert its own self-respect, the Senate might unseat the gentleman from Nevada. I know personally more than one Senator who resents the stigma that McCarran puts on their body. However, it should be realized that if the Senate adopted the policy of excluding the McCarrans, this power might be improperly exercised at some time in the future for selfish political purposes.

But while the Senate, as a body, may be justified in allowing a man who is much more objectionable than the late Senator Bilbo of Mississippi to retain his seat, it is difficult to excuse it for permitting McCarran to exercise what amounts to the veto power which the Constitution confers upon the President alone.

As a result of the indefensible seniority rule, Senator McCarran now preëmpts the highly important position of Chairman of the Judiciary Committee. He might with more accuracy be denominated the Führer of the Judiciary Committee. In seizing and exercising absolute power, so far as his committee is concerned, he has behaved somewhat like the vulturine Hitler. In view of that, it is easy to understand McCarran's tenderness of heart toward the midget dictator Franco of Spain, for whom, merely as a beginning, of course, he did his best to get away with $50 million of the taxpayers' money under the ECA appropriation.

Herblock, the famous and trenchant cartoonist of the Washington *Post*, recently depicted McCarran sitting on a bottle containing the "Displaced Persons Bill," while thumbing his nose at the President, the House of Representatives, the majority of the Senate, the Republican Party, his own Democratic Party and Uncle Sam himself. As is his practice when he is out to scuttle legislation pending before his committee, McCarran some months ago appointed himself Chairman of a subcommittee to consider the bill in question and thus put himself in a position to bottle it up. Apparently a majority of the full Judiciary Committee is in favor of approving the displaced-persons bill, which has already passed the House by a large majority. But, so far, no member of the full committee has presented a resolution to discharge the subcommittee. Probably this pusillanimity arises out of fear of attack by McCarran against legislation in which a member now opposing him might be interested.

Now steps are being taken, which it is hoped will be successful, to have the Senate discharge the Judiciary Committee from consideration of the DP bill, and thus bring it before the Senate itself, where, with assured support from both parties, it will undoubtedly pass. Senator Lucas, Democratic Majority Leader, is to be commended for asking the Republicans to help him pry this bill loose from McCarran's predatory clutches so that it may be voted upon, and the Republicans are to be congratulated upon their willingness to coöperate.

McCarran has said, in tricky language, to be sure, but nevertheless unmistakably, that the United States has already taken care of more displaced persons than all of the other countries of the world combined. This is untrue. The fact is that, as of July 1, we had admitted only 55,307 DPs, which puts us substantially behind the more humanitarian United Kingdom and Canada, and decidedly in the rear of Israel, which, as of the same date, has received 117,246 DPs. This is our shameful record, thanks to the Senator from Nevada. Recently, as might have been expected with relation to this sleight-of-hand "statesman," he pleaded in a lachrymose voice for the admission of 250 more people into this country—not displaced persons, to be sure, but sheepherders from the Pyrenees Mountains. It appears that, although the deprivation and suffering of DPs in Europe could not appeal to the ungenerous heart of Senator McCarran, he could be moved deeply by the bleating of sheep in his own and other Far Western states for shepherds to protect them from four-footed coyotes.

HAROLD L. ICKES

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WHERE IS THE U.S. GOING?—A Communication

by Robert S. Lynd

SIR: Harold Ickes' "Youth and Talent Wasted," in the *New Republic* for July 25, points to three Americans with superior education recently charged with inadequate enthusiasm for, and resulting unpatriotic actions toward, the "American way." As a university professor I have ample reason to observe that lack of enthusiasm for "the promise of American life" is one of the commonest moods shared by thoughtful students today. Neither the over-all situation nor available answers to the specific question, "What can I do that will make a difference?" makes positive sense to them.

Why is this? Ickes voices the conventional incredulity of us older Americans when he says it is incomprehensible that any American should prefer "such an oppressive dictatorship as exists in Russia." But this misses the point. I find very few intelligent students who want "the Russian system" or—and this is more important—believe that the choice lies between what we have and the Russian mélange of backward-looking and progressive institutions conditioned by a primitive past and scarred by three decades of struggle to survive. They feel it absurd to claim that the alternative to what we have involves wholesale scrapping of democratic liberties and beginning all over at the foot of freedom's ladder; but, these students feel, it is likewise absurd to claim that the only way to conserve democratic liberties is to plunge along in our present stubborn insistence that our American ways are either automatically best or, in fact, good enough for the strongest democratic nation on earth.

Reared to be confident in their country and its democratic vistas, they are profoundly disconcerted by the cynical, truculent democratic twilight to which they are expected to be loyal and give their eager best. Education has encouraged them to think, and they are thrown into recoil by the growing fear of free thought and social change all across these United States. They feel the fear that is spreading among us, their professors; and, confronted as these students are with an angry world of institutional cross-purposes, they feel "gypped" by a university program that concentrates on the past and avoids forthright discussion of the present....

In the question, where are we going, lies, I believe, the core of the dismay of our ablest youth. They do not question our national greatness, our resources and potentialities. They do not want to move to Russia or to any other country. But they want to live in a country that is "going" somewhere that makes large democratic sense and offers them a chance to work for big, sustained goals that project the central meanings of democracy. . . .

I do not believe we are warranted in doubting the good will of this young generation of Americans, or their eagerness to work all-out for things that will make a positive difference and that they can accordingly respect themselves for doing. But what is it they want to work for? Record profits for business, a Taft-Hartley Act for labor, and beefsteak priced out of the consumer's reach? Another war? Crushing Russia and social democracy in Western Europe? Blocking the program of the Labour Government in England? Exploiting China, South America and Africa? If young America envies Russia, China, India and diminutive Israel, it is not because it prefers them to the United States, but because each of these peoples has turned its back on the inadequacies of the past and is gathering its energies in a great push toward a new future....

Is the critical questioning among many of the best of our university students a thing to be dismissed as simply "the restlessness of youth"? Will they "get over it and settle down"? The answer to the first of these questions is "No"; to the second, "Yes, tragically; and while a few will break their hearts trying, for the most part they will end by conforming." *Fortune*, in its June issue, depicts youth without the courage to hope and dare, and deplores the desire of these college graduates for "safe" jobs as a sign of weakness and lack of enterprise. But a more just diagnosis would be: In the absence of anything positive to work for but money, these youngsters who have grown up in depression and borne the prolonged risks of combat in war prefer to sit out unnecessary risks in a nation which seems to offer them nothing worth the risking. . .

It is too little recognized that one of the weaknesses of liberalism is that it discourages the formulation of positive collective purposes. Aside from minimal things like "law and order," wavering things like "civil liberties," and vague values like "prosperity," liberal society sets no positive goals for itself as a whole society. Progress is assumed to "happen"—if, when, as, at long last. And where a liberal nation like the United States is "going" appears in general only after we've gone, when we look at last year's statistics and assess the direction power pressures imparted to legislation. The resulting underworld of State Department policies, economic imperialism and public double-talk may be exciting to the politicians and profitable to big business, but it is a gray frustration to the citizen. . . .

Before we oldsters condemn our youth for their wrongheadedness and lack of enthusiasm, perhaps we should ask ourselves: Is the United States clearly going anywhere that a decent, intelligent youngster should feel very enthusiastic about? And to help answer that one, I should like to see us academic social scientists and the foundations that donate funds for research put on the spot to give a candid over-all appraisal of where the United States *is* going.

Robert S. Lynd, co-author of Middletown, is professor of sociology in the Columbia University Graduate School.

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

ESSAYS ON MATERIALISM

by Ernest Nagel

MATERIALISM as a comprehensive world outlook has a long and influential history. Though its detailed doctrinal content has varied throughout the centuries, it has always been faithful to the conviction that the mechanisms of organized matter are the ones that determine the course of events. It has often been guilty of mistaking some current but premature physics of inorganic nature for the last word on the constitution of everything whatever. Nonetheless, it has expressed the soundly based belief that disembodied forces and ideals possess no causal efficacy, and that the operations of things can be understood only in terms of their material structures. In consequence, materialism has been the foe of all attempts to read supernatural meanings into the operations of nature, and it has served as the perennial opposition to conceptions of the world according to which man and his values occupy a centrally privileged position in it.

PHILOSOPHY FOR THE FUTURE: The Quest of Modern Materialism. Edited by Roy Wood Sellars, V. J. McGill and Marvin Farber (Macmillan; $7.50).

As in other periods of history, materialism is under contemporary attack from a number of sources. A forthright formulation and defense of materialism, a clarifying analysis of the perspective from which materialism views the flux of events, would therefore be no pointless performance. Such formulations and analyses have been undertaken in recent years; and the present volume is another effort.

It contains essays by more than two dozen authors, a small fraction of which are interpretations of chapters in intellectual history from the standpoint of historical materialism. About an equal number are critiques of allegedly divergent philosophies, while the rest, with but few exceptions, are simplified expositions of current scientific findings and speculations.

In part because the issues involved in a thoroughgoing materialism are faced in only a few of the essays, in part because even in these exceptional cases the quality of analysis is rarely of high order, the volume as a whole makes unimpressive reading. Only a tenuous bond ties together the various contributions, and in some of them (*e. g.*, those by Drs. Bernhard Stern and Leslie White) mutually incompatible views are propounded. The majority of papers which expound current scientific findings (*e. g.*, Dr. Roy Marshall's essay on astrophysics or Dr. McGill's account of psychological approaches to personality) are philosophically quite neutral, and could have been included in a volume with a different philosophical orientation. Moreover, far too many of the essays have been written on the assumption that if only the adjective "dialectical" is prefixed to the word "materialism," difficulties become immediately resolved and unsupported claims become warranted. Indeed, though a goodly number of the contributors exercise a commendable objectivity and independence of judgment, the net impression the book makes is that of an uncritical wholesale endorsement of the philosophical pronouncements of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

It is this tacit identification of "modern materialism" with "dialectical materialism" which controls much of the book's polemic—some of which is simply beneath contempt. No essay in the volume betrays even a suspicion that perhaps the sacred texts of the fathers of dialectical philosophy do not contain the last words on the subject. On the contrary, there is endless genuflection in their direction and bottomless complacency concerning their philosophical competence. The technique employed is familiar and simple. Whatever Dr. Judd Marmor finds acceptable in Freud is blessed as illustrating dialectical materialism; whatever he rejects is damned as mechanical materialism. Dr. Dirk Struik announces a dialectical pattern in the development of mathematics, though even in the meager evidence he supplies for his claims he does not avoid serious misrepresentation of the import of technical mathematical achievements.

Dr. Stern's comments on historical materialism are largely a dogmatic reiteration of the orthodox claim that the mode of production is "ultimately the determining factor" of every social order; and the degree of his independence from narrow partisan bias is illustrated by his judgment on social scientists who would keep their discipline uncommitted to any program of social change as "passive tools of interest groups." Dr. Leslie White is so much of an intransigent orthodox Marxist that he attempts to bring to life Lewis Morgan's theory of cultural development; and his devotion to straight-line historical materialism is so great that he dismisses as "sterile metaphysics" or "empty verbalism" the views of other anthropologists who assign causal roles to other than economic institutions.

Even Dr. Abraham Edel, whose essay on context and content in the theory of ideas is by far the best philosophical contribution to the volume, finds it necessary to invoke the authority of Lenin in support of his own commitment to "the objectivity of truth." This is not a book which permits the argument to lead wherever it will. The philosophy for the future that is proclaimed in it is shackled to sectarian loyalties and a rigid orthodoxy.

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Only Dr. Roy Sellars' essay attempts to clarify in comprehensive philosophical terms the problems stated in the foreword. However, though he throws out suggestive hints in all directions, none of them is worked out responsibly even in a preliminary fashion; and he has taken the easy road of promising much but performing little. With some rare exceptions, therefore, the philosophical food offered to the reader of this volume consists chiefly of another program concealed amidst much sectarian polemics. Both ingredients can be obtained elsewhere in profusion. ERNEST NAGEL

Ernest Nagel, professor of philosophy at Columbia University, is editor of the Journal of Philosophy and author of many books.

LIBERAL'S REGRESS

A SEA CHANGE, by Nigel Dennis (Houghton Mifflin; $3.50).

THE PUBLISHERS of *A Sea Change* describe it bravely as "a satirical adventure story," but it lacks the wit and insight usually associated with satire. Furthermore, one of its main characters is an eighteen-year-old boy afflicted with epilepsy—a dubious subject for satirization. On the other hand, any attempt to take it seriously fails in the face of Dennis' preposterous people and events. Readers who know that the author has worked for the *New Republic* and contributed to the *Nation*, *Time* and *Partisan Review* should be warned that, although a "liberal" New York news magazine plays an important part in the plot, this is in no sense a *roman à clef* with titillating side glimpses of recognizable figures. The inhabitants of *A Sea Change* are so far out of this world that Dennis' introductory statement, "any resemblance to actual living persons is wholly accidental and unintentional," becomes uncomfortably accurate.

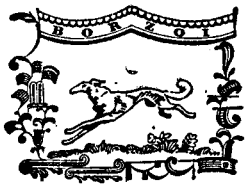
Briefly, the plot deals with the epileptic son of the female editor of an American news magazine and an excessively muzzy-headed, incipiently psychotic reporter on the same magazine who go to Poland together in the summer of 1939. There, amid the author's shallow generalizations about Americans in Europe, the boy "grows up," and the reporter reveals himself in his true colors by becoming involved with a Fascist-minded American engineer who eventually shoots him just before the Nazis move in.

The story line becomes so confused in the welter of interminable conversations and reflections on life, sex, Freud and the guilt complex that for long periods it is hard to tell what anyone, including Dennis, is getting at. He seems to be worried by that himself, for he allows the boy to sum up the theme at the end, like a good detective in the finale of a mystery story, interpreting the clues that have been dropped along the way.

"What I am trying to tell you," the boy explains to his mother after two pages in which he has reiterated and elucidated for her, and for the reader, the main events of the plot, "is that Max never really changed his character. He never questioned whoever happened to be his boss. . . . He was just as irresponsible working here as he was when he switched over to the enemy. . . . Max was probably just like me when he was my age, and there's every chance that I shall be just like him when I am his age. Why should I resist friends any better than he did? How shall I have the courage to make enemies? Won't I just take the enemy that my friends agree on, and feel that hating him is the only sign of integrity worth worrying about?"

That is a pertinent observation on a large number of so-called American liberals, and one worth making. Unfortunately, after 371 pages, Dennis has left it about where he found it.

ANNE L. GOODMAN



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A FIRST-RATE HUMORIST

A MENCKEN CHRESTOMATHY, by H. L. Mencken. Edited and annotated by the author (Alfred A. Knopf; $5).

AS EVERY ANTHROPOID in the republic must know by this time, chrestomathy means "a collection of choice passages from an author." The present gathering of gems was made by the Sage himself from his out-of-print writings; by far the greater number of them were originally published between the first inaugurals of the Wilson and Roosevelt Administrations when H. L. Mencken was among the prominent phenomena of the national scene. His influence, indeed, was so great (if so misunderstood) that the president of Rutgers (in 1927) could blame a wave of suicides among students on "too much Mencken."

For those who came too late to die from Mencken—anyone born after about 1910—that influence is a curiosity of its curious time and this book is a first-rate survey of both. He was considered dangerous—a radical on social and political questions and an infidel in matters religious. It is true he submitted to none of the canons of the Christian faiths; neither, as he pointed out, did many who professed to believe them. But when he seriously set himself up in his anti-pulpit, his arguments were naïvely self-limiting; it must have been apparent even to the intelligent infidel that Mencken simply didn't understand the problem—never does he express a skepticism more profound than that of the classical surgeon who can't *see* the soul on the operating table.

As for his "radicalism," he was admittedly reactionary in the "worst" (that is, probably the best) sense: he didn't trust any change, except for the worse, and he yearned nostalgically for demonstrably more amenable eras. During the age of the flapper and Prohibition, he hearkened back to the nickel beer and free lunch; in the midst of the Hoover depression, he speculated on the aristocratic traditions of the ante-bellum South. If Mencken was dangerous, it was only to those who could be destroyed by a laugh.

"We live in a land of abounding quackeries," he writes in his introduction to the present volume. "I have witnessed, in my day, the discovery, enthronement and subsequent collapse of a vast army of uplifters and world-savers. . . . We produce such mountebanks in greater number than any other country, and they climb to heights seldom equalled anywhere." These are his enemies—if the mouse may be called the enemy of the cat. For Mencken is less the destructive critic than the "connoisseur of mountebankery," and those whose agonies he enjoyed were from the ranks of anti-saloon leagues, politicians, vice-crusaders, "such pathological phenomena as Fundamentalism, Prohibition, and Ku Kluxery," as well as "various bishops, college presidents, Rotary lecturers and other such professional damned fools." They also included the inhabitants of the mountainous regions of the Southern states, as well as the entire area of Mississippi, whom he called "anthropoids" or, as a variation, "primates."

It will be noted that the targets of Mencken's wit are all manifest inferiors—either naturally, or by accident of birth or opportunity, or by his (usually correct) decision. That is not to deny that fools and absurdities can be menaces and that the best way to destroy them is by ridicule, but the very superiority of the armchair cynic confessedly enjoying the spectacle of life in "These States" (alternately this "zoo") is a part of the safe comfortable age in which he grew great. Mencken was in fact so much a part of that age—his humor depends so largely on its references and vocabulary (the very name Warren G. Harding when he uses it is enough to set off sputterings of uncontrollable l a u g h t e r)—that when he was successful and the mines he helped to lay exploded, he was buried with his victims.

Exhumed now in this volume is neither the Thinker nor the Critic; it is the perhaps lesser but enduring figure of a first-rate American humorist.

JOHN FARRELLY

THEATRE ROOTS

AT ABOUT the time—1931—that the Stanislavski system first began to be a subject for discussion and study in the American theatre, a corresponding and greater impetus was given to the notion that the theatre man had to become a conscious citizen of society. The idea was a fruitful one; it opened the way to vigorous influences that broke down the notion of the theatre as a mere funhouse removed from the world's more substantial interests. Like many beneficent movements, the new tendency did not realize the full scope of its premises. As a result many incipient artists were often deflected from a proper study of their craft only to become puerile sociologists. What was frequently forgotten was that the "good citizen," as such, might have no function in the theatre, but that the thoroughly rounded theatre man would always have an organic and active relationship to the world outside.

What is the first law of the theatre? That it is a collective craft, or, to put it more plainly, that no single force or person alone can make good theatre. The play is indeed the thing, but the play in the theatre is not only the text or the actor or the director, but the thing created when the animating spirit that moves the dramatist is given a concrete body by all the people in the theatre together. Where does the animating spirit or idea of the play arise? From the society of which all the theatre people are parts, in other words from the audience which the theatre people aim to serve.

Because the theatre is by its very nature collective, the highest praise we can bestow on a theatrical production is to say that it has unity, that the theatre collective has achieved a combination of its divers parts which embodies the play's idea to the fullest extent. At such rare moments we

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hardly know who is the first, or the most inspired, of the contributors to the production. We simply experience the satisfaction of a happy union of elements, all of which have been shaped to a harmonious statement or expression of an idea or sentiment.

In such a theatre event, the playwright is not king, nor the director boss, nor the actors simply soldiers headed by a star general. What rules is the play idea, greater than the playwright himself, who in actual practice works on his text before and during rehearsal to bring it closer to the consummation which takes account of every part of the theatre, including such physical instruments as the stage setting and even the building that houses the performance. Beyond all this, what dominates is the thought of holding the audience—final touchstone of the play's unity. The audience represents an identity, a state of mind, a philosophy, aspirations and ideals, which the theatre artists hope to intensify, modify or even change by arousing a sense of kinship that will unify all.

In describing this basic pattern of the theatre have we not suggested a process calling for both discipline and a sense of responsibility which, in the last analysis, must resolve themselves into a code of behavior and an active morality on everyone's part? Suppose, for example, that a single individual—be he playwright, actor or director—conceives himself as the end and purpose of the theatre's whole endeavor: can we have good theatre? Hardly. But it is precisely this tearing of the individual parts away from the whole which is characteristic of our theatre.

If you counter that this atomization—the degeneration of each part into a self-centered whole—is the rule of our society, and that our theatre simply reflects the ills of our society, you have uttered a truism without arriving at a truth. No doubt our theatre would be healthier if our society were, but the job of the theatre person is not to reduce himself to the role of a mechanism, a cog in the machine, but to elevate himself to the consciousness of a person who exercises his will to make or, at least, influence his own environment, and thus to act socially in what for him is the most immediately effective way, that is, in terms of his own craft. It is true that society produces its criminals, but the same society which produces criminals also produces its teachers and healers. It is a dangerous trend of thought that leads people to think of themselves chiefly as effects or victims and not also as causes and creators.

Theatre people—playwrights as much as actors or stagehands—must become conscious of what the theatre is and what its correct functioning means in relation to their own individual responsibility toward it.

HAROLD CLURMAN

MOVIES: Libel on Wales

By writing, directing and playing the leading male role himself, Emlyn Williams has been able to give to the new Alexander Korda picture, "Dolwyn," a cohesion and unity rarely seen on the screen. This proves again that favorite dictum of the reviewers that today's pictures lack the governing intelligence, but it does so in an awkward way. "Dolwyn" is pretentious, vapid and implausible. Williams was given, not a free hand, but too much rope.

The story concerns a "sleepy" Welsh village of 100 years ago, "nestling" in a "soft and misty" valley and inhabited, surprisingly enough, entirely by "quaint and lovable" character actors. Arrives one day Emlyn Williams, once a boy of the town, now a thoroughly revolting villain in a curly-brimmed bowler. He will be instantly recognized by anyone who has ever had a mortgage foreclosed, but he has shaved off the mustaches and invented a new version of the old trick. He represents the Lancashire waterworks and it is his intention to flood the valley, thus venting on the town a horrible revenge for having booted him out into the world. (He was discovered, a boy of twelve, with his little fist in the poor box.)

Such a tale must have a poor widow with two sons, one staunch, one a weak reed. She is provided in the person of Dame Edith Evans, who plays throughout with a very odd expression on her face. A sense of humor could be trying to anyone in the role. This widow, now, has an old family paper which will fix Mr. Nasty, but her son (the staunch one) hits the city bloke a terrible blow, and what's better than a nice big lake to cover a little homicide, even though it was both accidental and justified, as the picture does not point out? So she runs up to the dam and turns on the tap and, since everyone is too busy singing Welsh choruses to run up after her and turn it off again, all you can see of Dolwyn today is the top of the steeple.

The townspeople of Dolwyn were bilingual in a way I have never before encountered. They spoke Welsh under normal conditions but, in moments of stress or when something had to be made perfectly clear, fell into English, a foreign tongue that none of them understood very well. This anthropological curiosity is provident, for it saves all the fuss of supplying subtitles. Not that you couldn't follow "Dolwyn" with your ears stoppered.

Hidden behind one of the flattest titles of the year, "The Girl in the Painting" is an adventure mystery directed by Terence Fisher along sound British, or Hitchcock, lines. Everyone

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moves around briskly without getting in a sweat, the actors are chosen as individuals rather than types and some care is given to characterization.

An officer (Robert Beatty), on leave in London from the British zone of occupation, wanders into a gallery and comes upon a nice old Austrian codger at the moment the stranger has recognized the face of his lost daughter in the portrait of a DP girl.

The artist is found, the girl (Mai Zetterling) is traced to a camp in Germany, she responds oddly to the officer's friendly approaches and the plot begins nicely to thicken. The explanation, involving amnesia and hidden SS-bomb shelters, will not knock you out of your seat, and the picture throbs with emotional improbabilities, but it will see you through an idle hour.

ROBERT HATCH

RADIO: The Swagbag Ruling

FOR ONCE, the Federal Communications Commission made Page One. Two days running, Hearst's New York *Journal-American* gave the red-ink banner-line treatment to the FCC's decision "banning" the swagbag type of giveaway air program as a "lottery." The rest of the press was not far behind the *Journal* in its noisy coverage.

But in its frantic zeal to squeeze the last drop of vindictiveness out of a competing advertising medium's discomfiture, the press overlooked several important factors. It so happens that those missing elements make the real story. One phase, hitherto unpublished, is the fact that the head of an important government agency deliberately ducked his manifest duty to stand up and be counted.

Since he assumed his office, in December, 1947, Wayne Coy has been an excellent and conscientious chairman of the FCC. He has spoken out often, and forcefully, in a manner displeasing to the broadcasting monopolists and has followed some of his fine *ex cathedra* pronouncements with proper action. But Coy needs a job that would pay him more than the $10,000-a-year he receives now. The Television Broadcasters Association has offered him such a job at a very fancy wage—and if the TBA proposal should fall through, there is room elsewhere in or around radio for him.

Coy has spent most of this summer in Europe on official business. He was on his way back to New York City when three of his colleagues decided to push through the "ban" on giveaways. Maybe he did not know that Acting Chairman Paul A. Walker and Commissioners George E. Sterling and Edward M. Webster would get a decision through in time to save him from having to go out on a limb. Certainly he knew that, had he exercised his chairman's prerogative, he could have insisted on postponement of the final decision until he could participate in its formulation. The preliminary proposed rule to outlaw giveaways was voted as long ago as August 5, 1948. Coy and his colleagues had been kicking it around all winter, and there had been hot debate on the question right up to Coy's departure for Europe.

In the light of Coy's timidity, the absence of two remaining commissioners that Friday is understandable, if not excusable. Rosel H. Hyde had been acting chairman during most of Coy's trip to Europe, but now he found it necessary to be home, in Idaho, at the time giveaways went down for the count. Robert F. Jones had been in Washington, attending meetings with his colleagues, reportedly arguing against the three whose will finally prevailed. But on the day that their will became law, Jones was out. One trade paper said he was home, ill. Both Hyde and Jones have ambitions to succeed to the chairmanship.

The press, which reported factually who was present and who was not—without looking into the reasons for the line-up—did no better on the de-

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cision itself as it finally came through. The three-man majority held that the FCC had the right to outlaw programs deemed "lotteries," even though Congress only a few years ago had given the Department of Justice jurisdiction over lottery prosecutions. The only woman member of the Commission, Frieda B. Hennock, dissented on the grounds of that Congressional action. I think that both the majority and the minority reports skirted the main issue: whether the FCC should outlaw the kind of program which is, in the words of a Washington *Post* editorial, "a debasing form of entertainment appealing to the cupidity and gambling instincts of mass humanity."

Nobody seemed to want to tackle the issue head-on. From my knowledge about the personalities of the commissioners, and their thinking, I believe that all of them were worried about the problem of FCC involvement in the field of program control. The conservatives among them agree with the broadcasters who contend that the Commission must keep hands off programming. The liberals (including Coy and Miss Hennock) believe that the FCC has the duty to look into program balance—but they shy away from anything like censorship of individual types of programs. It served both sides, therefore, to have the final giveaway ruling formulated in terms of "lottery," a tradition of government law practice that sends an Al Capone to prison, not for bootlegging, but for tax violations.

I'm sorry the FCC did not call the giveaways by their right name. I don't think the FCC should have, or could have, outlawed the giveaways. Prohibition proved that taste cannot be legislated. If we are to pass laws against types of programs, why stop at the swagbag and tolerate soap operas, insulting disc jockeys, an entire block of children's shows of execrable taste and no educational value, whodunits on which everybody is killed but the sponsor who deserves extinction, and singing commercials?

Those are the things the silent Coy —and the more articulate Miss Hennock—should have said, but didn't.

As to any worries you may have about the FCC extinguishing *your* chances of winning that fabulous jackpot on "Stop the Music" or "Sing It Again"—relax. The issue is going to the courts. A restraining order will wipe out the FCC's deadline for the giveaways, which the order fixed as October 1. You may be sure that no court decision will come down within the next year and, by the time the matter is determined, some production genius will have thought of something new to raise the temperatures of those who want culturally responsible and genuinely grown-up broadcasting.

Maybe some of the very people who have made us squirm as we listened to their giveaways will have a chance to present the programs they really prefer. I happen to know some of those people. Hy Zaret, who writes the parodies that keep "Sing It Again" on the air, is the same lyricist who wrote the words for "Little Songs On Big Subjects" and the United Nations jingles. Louis G. Cowan, who sold "Stop the Music" to ABC and "Hollywood Calling" to the competing NBC chain, is the man who couldn't get the networks to take his two best productions, "Fighting Senator" and "Cub Casters."

Zaret and Cowan would rather succeed with those efforts of theirs which teach democracy and understanding. But broadcasting—including, remember, the listeners as well as the people who transmit the stuff—has bought only their less desirable products. When giveaway producers are accused of bribing listeners, they point out that the casting of a movie star in the lead of a radio drama which he can't carry is also a form of cheap listener bait, that a $5,000-per-appearance glamorpuss with "marquee value" often mars a good radio drama which could be done much better by an ordinary actor working for the $72 union scale. We, the listeners, could alter many radio practices. We get the kind of broadcasts—and the kind of FCC—that our indifference deserves. SAUL CARSON

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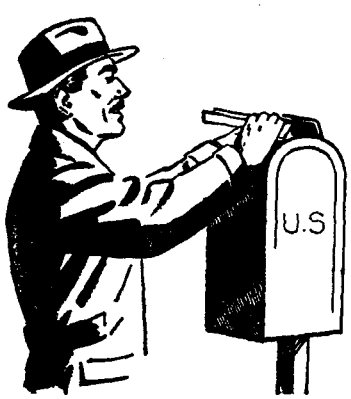

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